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THE

HONEST MĀN's  
S P E E C H.



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The Second Edition.

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H O T E L 3





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S I R,

I BELIEVE every Gentleman here, is truly sensible that the Subject before us this Day, is a Matter of the utmost Consequence to this Nation ; and that it requires the most sincere, and the most patriot Attention not only of *this House*, but of every honest Man WHO WISHES WELL TO HIS COUNTRY.

I own, Sir, that the *Moderation*, the *Justice*, —with which this Enquiry hath been conducted gives me a sensible Pleasure ; the *Deliberation* and *Candour* of which plainly evince, that it did not spring from *Pique*, *Faction*, or *partial Dislike* ; but from that indispensable Necessity which the C——s of I——D are always under of Animadverting upon whatever may tend to *Sedition*, the *Dishonour* of our Government in general, and of *this House* in particular ; —We being the *Guardians*, and the *only Judges* of our own Priviledge, and the *GRAND INQUEST of the whole Nation.*

For my Part, Sir, I am unconscious that the most sanguine, the most partial Partizan this Day can, with any Justice, throw the least Shadow of Reproach upon our Proceedings ; he must be very far gone in Licentiousness and Sedition that does ; — for the *unhappy Delinquent*, who hath unfortunately fallen under our Censure, hath had his *own Time* given him to *Answer* ; — his *own Option* in *WHAT MANNER* he *would Answer* ; — and the *express Judgment* of the House, that his totally declining to *Answer* at all would not be attended with the least Censure.

THIS, Sir, was *fair* ; —— this was *candid* ; and becoming the *HONOUR and EQUITY* of *this House*.

This

This CHAMPION of Liberty, then it seems, Sir, notwithstanding the Indulgence of the House, in giving him his *own Time*; notwithstanding his own *positive*, and *frequent Declarations without Doors*, and his *voluntary Promise within*, which we do not insist upon, “of dealing *openly*, and *ingeniously* with the House, and of *candidly answering* whatever Questions he *should be asked*;” — I say, Sir, after all this—this Man of Veracity has thought it adviseable to *break his Word*; — and to decline answering every Question that has been proposed to him.

But notwithstanding Mr. E—d—s being secreted; — and Mr. L—s’s unfaithful Dealings with us; — yet still, in my Opinion, we have *fully, regularly, and clearly proved* the Papers before us *to be his*; and I believe to the full Satisfaction of every Gentleman in this House. Then it only remains now, Sir, to pass our Resolution upon *this weak—this mistaken Man*.

I confess, Sir,— if I may be allowed the Expression, that I feel, at this Instant, a NATIONAL AFFECTION, — an honest PATRIOT Joy in finding that we are so *unanimous*. And at the same Time so *just* and *dispassionate*, not only in our RESENTMENT, but in our Resolution likewise, to punish those *seditionis* those *wicked Practices*; — Practices which, under the *specious Mask of Liberty*, have been so *openly*, — and so *daringly* carried on, that many, and  
of

*of some Note, in this City, have Innocently or Ignorantly believed them to be the natural, and the constitutional Rights of every British Subject. Which mistaken Belief has bred such Animosity, Confusion, and Distraction in this City ; as might have proved, in Time, of fatal Consequence to the COMMUNITY IN GENERAL.*

But, Sir, though we have been dispassionate, candid, and regular in our Proceedings ;— though we are unanimous to pass a deserv'd— an exemplary Censure upon the unhappy Man and his seditious Papers ;— Yet still, Sir, for my own Part, I cannot think THAT quite sufficient !— No, Sir ;— it is *my Judgment* that we *ought*,— for the Sake of the *deluded People without Doors*, who have been *Seduced*, and led astray by this *insidious Man* ;— I say, Sir, FOR THEIR SAKE, I think it is *incumbent upon us* to say something, *publickly*, at this Juncture, which may *convince them* that our ENQUIRY, and our CENSURE have no other END, but *their PEACE and WELFARE*.

I assure you, Sir, I cannot help expressing the *social Pleasure* that I feel, *this Instant*, upon my beholding so many *worthy Citizens* on this Occasion in our GALLERY ! and I sincerely wish it had been large enough, this Day, to have contain'd *the whole Body of them* ; that they might have been the better enabled to have form'd a dispassionate Judgment of *our Proceedings* ;— and of *an Affair* which hath *betray'd so many deluded Men* into—to say no more—an erroneous APPROBATION.

I once

I once had the Honour of being *one of their Body*; and heretofore have often given them *my Sense* of those ill judged, those hot-headed Proceedings. I now take *this Opportunity* of offering it to them *again*,—and of *assuring them* that I think Mr. L——’s CONDUCT has been nothing less,—to say no worse of it,—than *immoral, licentious, and seditious.*

For, in my Judgment, it tends only towards the stirring up *a factious Virulence*, and a *lasting Hatred* amongst the Citizens;—a blackening and a defaming of *private Characters*;—and an ill-mannered, *and an unavailing DISAFFECTION* of Governors and Government. All which, upon the very *Face* of his Conduct, appear most *obviously to me*;—and is,—I repeat it again Sir,—in my Opinion, *immoral, licentious, and seditious*; and what I hope will never be countenanced *again*, in this Kingdom, in **HIM**, or any OTHER PERSON WHATEVER.

In the Name of *Prudence*, and *common Sense*, Sir, what BUSINESS had this *weak*,—this *foolish* Man with VICE-GERENTS, CONSTITUTIONS, and PARLIAMENTS! could he not have minded his *City Matters* and his *Election*,—and have let those HIGHER AFFAIRS alone till he had *gain’d* his Seat? It would have been *full Time enough*, I believe, in *Prudence THEN*,—if not *too soon*,—to have been meddling with KING HENRY’S, KING JOHNS, and MAGNA CHARTA’S. But

IGNORANTLY, and WANTONLY, to step aside,—quite out of his way,—with an indefatigable, determin'd Purpose, not only to explore and open OLD SORES and WOUNDS, healed, and forgotten long since;—But cruelly to tear,—expose,—and endeavour to make those very Wounds to bleed afresh, without the least Means of ever healing them.—This, I say, was such an Act of Cruelty.—and wicked Madness, as in my Judgment cannot be match'd out of the Walls of BEDLAM.

But the unfeeling injudicious Man could not stop even here! for not being contented with threatening, abusing, and admonishing JUDGES, VICE-GERENTS, GOVERNORS and PARLIAMENTS,—and with probing, widening, and irritating the imaginary WOUNDS of his native Country,—he must now give an unlimited Scope to his rankling Genius,—and fall foul of INDIVIDUALS; that the whole People, as well in their separate as collective State, might be subjected to his UNIVERSAL CONTROUL, to which laudable End, he strait dips his fell Pen in the most corrosive Defamation his distempered Imagination could invent, and whom he pleaseth, he instantly libel-letth to public INFAMY, and SHAME.

I believe, Sir, I am as fond of the *Liberty of the Press* as any Man; and I hope it will for ever remain in full Freedom throughout THE BRITISH DOMINIONS! But fond as I am of the USE of that darling BLESSING, I cannot counte-

countenance its ABUSE.—No Sir,—I *detest* and *abhor* it ;—as ought every honest Man who wishes well to TRUTH, and *warrantable Liberty*.

And now I mention the Word LIBERTY, Sir,—I cannot help observing the *ungenerous*—the *dishonest* Use that has been *lately* made of it by Mr. L—s. It hath been hackney'd as a meer STALKING HORSE ; from behind which, an *insidious* Man hath shot his *poison'd Arrows* into the *fair Fame* of the LIVING and the DEAD !

Sir,—it is incredible,—nay, shocking and detestable, but to reflect, how far this Man has carried his Notion of *Liberty* and *Freedom!* for not being satisfied with defaming and wounding the Reputations of the Living, he draws his *putrefying Pen* even against the *helpless Dead!* THEIR Graves and Sepulchres must be SACRILEGIously broke open, that this *honest*, this *moral*, this *virtuous* Man may—thro' the *Affassination* of the *quiet* and *fair* Reputations, of the Dead—plead the Cause of *Liberty* and *Freedom.*

One would have thought, Sir, that common *Decency*, common *Humanity*, —— RELIGION, or even common *Policy* would have preserv'd the Ashes of the *defenceless Dead* from his fell Rage ! No ;—All must perish to serve the CAUSE OF LIBERTY ! and what neither DEATH nor TIME could do, this Gentleman, for the Sake of LI-

BERTY, *virtuously* undertakes, —I mean, *the Murder of honest Men's Reputations, on the other Side of the peaceful Grave.* Which was such an unciviliz'd, such an *irreligious* Act of ENMITY to the *Living*, as the Records of the most barbarous Nations cannot parallel: And such, as I hope, no OTHER CITIZEN, will be inhumane enough ever to *copy*, — or to COUNTERANCE, again!

THESE, Sir, are the Uses which Mr. L— has made of LIBERTY; the *Certainty and Truth* of which, is notorious *throughout this Land*; and I believe, by this time, no Man that has the least Sensibility of *Decency, Humanity, or the Order of Society*, not even the warmest of his Admirers, can be *hardy enough to deny, defend, or even to extenuate his UNPARALLEL'D CONDUCT.* On the contrary, every GOOD MAN, every TRUE PATRIOT, and every HONEST CITIZEN, both *within* and *without* Doors MUST approve of the Judgment that publicly brands the Man who hath made such an *immoral*, and such a *wicked Use* of LIBERTY, the PRESS, and the *deluded Weakness of his Friends, and Fellow Citizens.*

But I hope, Sir, that our Country will reap some Advantage from the Example of this Day. I own, I am for having every public Affair stand the Test of an *open, FREE ENQUIRY*: Yet I am not for having that FREEDOM exceed the Bounds of *Decency, Humanity, or the civil or religious LAWS*

LAWS of the Land. Therefore, I hope, that whoever, *for the future*, shall set up for a public WRITER or ORATOR ;——or shall take upon him to MEND THE CONSTITUTION, CENSURE GOVERNORS, CORRECT PARLIAMENTS, instruct the Multitude, or to LEAD AN ARMY OF THE PEOPLE,——will first learn, *what LIBERTY of Writing and Speaking in a free Country really is*; and *how far they may be with Safety used*.

Then, Sir, he will find that *that Liberty* is not a *licentious Power* of traducing and insulting the *highest* and the *best CHARACTERS* in a Government ;——*of justifying Rebellions* ;——*of sowing Sedition*,——nor of vilifying and defaming the *Living* and the *Dead AT WILL*.

No, Sir, ——— he will find it to be only a Subject's Power of *Speaking*, or of *Writing*, warrantably ;—I say, warrantably, Sir,—always, *at his Peril*, carefully observing not to *transgress* the *LIMITS OF THE LAWS*.

This, Sir, is what I take to be the *Liberty*, the *Freedom*,——and the *UTMOST LIMITS* of political Eloquence. It is all that *ever was allow'd* in the *FREEST STATES* ;—— it is all that is *necessary* in *ANY STATE* ;— and it is all — and what *every Subject*, from the *highest* to the *lowest*, *without Distinction*, is *allow'd* in *OUR STATE*. And the Man who *wantonly*, *wickedly* or *ignorantly* goes *FARTHER*, breaks through the

PALE that severs *Right* from *Wrong*,—and deservedly provokes the HAND OF JUSTICE to chastise his BOLD MISDOINGS.

Sir,—It is confidently affirm'd, without Doors, by those who know not the Nature of the Subject, that the censuring, or the taking any judicial Notice of THIS MAN, while he is a Candidate for the City of D—, is an Attack,—nay an open Violation of the FREEDOM OF ELECTIONS. So that according to this Doctrine, a Man who has a mind to libel the Government, reflect upon THIS HOUSE, or even to raise an Insurrection, need only be a Candidate to do it with IMPUNITY.

The Ignorance of this Assertion hardly deserves an Answer;—but the Insolence of it is too gross and palpable to escape the Censure of this House. What!

Shall any one Man in this Nation,—or any Body of Men whom he may have deceived into his pernicious Principles, dictate to this House, or to the EXECUTIVE PART OF OUR GOVERNMENT, on whom,—when—or in what Manner the Power that is lodged in them shall be exercised? This is such a Piece of Madness, or Enthusiasm, which is much the same, as can hardly be credited.

And yet this has been the natural Deduction and Tendency of several Speeches, Writings, and

and general Conversations of late in *this City*, many Parts of which, in Times *less moderate*, would have been punished with no less a Fate than HANGING.

But I am glad, for the sake of the unfortunate Man who, I believe, hath *deceived himself* into his Crimes, that we live in Times of *Mercy* and *Moderation*; the good *Effects* of which, I hope he will feel in the *Exertion of the Law*, as he hath already in the *long Forbearance of it*.

It is now, Sir, near seventy Years since we have had a REBELLION in *this Kingdom*; during which Time we have happily made some small *Advances* in ARTS and INDUSTRY,—the true Source of *Happiness* and *Wealth*.—In God's Name let us proceed;—let us push all our *Wit*, our *Eloquence* and Patriot Spirit THERE: It will be of more *real Advantage* to us than any that can arise from Jealousy or Dissention *among ourselves*, with our Neighbours, or from the best Explanation that the Wit of Man can suggest, upon a musty, and at best a DUBIOUS CHARACTER.

We are in a *prosperous Way*; and if we can but keep Sedition and PARTY RAGE from infecting us, there is Reason to believe, *with the Assistance of our common Brethren*, and our own Endeavours, that, in Time, we shall become a rich, and a happy People.

But

But if, instead of living in *social Love*, and advancing in our *Industry*, every INDIVIDUAL should, from the distempered Notions of a *weak*, or a *bad Man*, set up for *boundless LIBERTY*; and fall to *mending* of Constitutions,—*admonishing* Kings,—*correcting* Parliaments,—*sowing* Dissentions,—and stirring up that *Bane of all Society*, which for some Years has been almost dead among us,—I mean—**PARTY RAGE**.—I say, if these should become our PRACTICES, which I should be sorry were the Doctrine of any among us; instead of being a *rich* and a *happy*,—we should become a *poor*, a DISTRACTED PEOPLE.

We have lived *amicably*, and in Harmony *amongst ourselves*—and without any material *Party-distinctions* for several Years past, till within these few Months. And in the late wicked REBELLION in Scotland, we had the Comfort, and Satisfaction to see that all was quiet HERE. And to the Honour of the *R——C——* be it remembered, that not a Man of them moved Tongue, Pen or Sword upon the *then*, or the *present Occasion*; and I am glad to find that they have a *grateful* and a *proper Sense* of the *Mildness* and *Moderation* of our GOVERNMENT; which secures them in the *FREEDOM* of Trade,—and the Enjoyment of Property,—equal with any *other* of his MAJESTY's COMMON SUBJECTS. And,—

For

For *my* Part, Sir, while they behave with Duty and Allegiance to the PRESENT ESTABLISHMENT, I shall hold them, as Men, in equal Esteem with others in *every* Point—BUT ONE. And while their PRIVATE Opinion interferes not with PUBLIC TRANQUILITY, I think their Industry and Allegiance ought to be encouraged.

But if any *one* Man, or Set of Men, of what Denomination soever, shall, under the specious Mask of LIBERTY, and the Pretence of redressing Grievances, practice upon the Weakness of the People, so as to lead them into Idleness and Sedition, Slander and DISAFFECTION—Jealousy and Animosity, to the Danger or Disadvantage of the PUBLIC WEAL, I shall always think that *that* Man, or MEN, will ever deserve the Resentment of the Government, and the Justice of the LAW. And whatever Pity or Feeling I may have for the MAN, I shall always think it my indispensable Duty to my Country to give my Vote against the OFFENDER.

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